/87 cont./

846 [789] [114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the 846 851 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation: in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the [829] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846 Mbyá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the 953 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At 178 [826]